

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 OIC-02 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 CU-02

OMB-01 TRSE-00 BIB-01 /074 W
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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3320

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3996

USNATO ALSO FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, WB, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

REF: A. GENEVA 3640

B. STATE 11452 (NOTAL)

C. GENEVA 3533 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. FRENCH HAVE GIVEN US NEW QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRR) TEXT WORKED OUT BY SAUVAGNARGUES AND YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER AND ON WHICH YUGOSLAV CABINET VIEES ARE EXPECTED TO BE KNOWN WITHIN DAY OR TWO. OUR FIRST REACTION IS THAT TEXT WOULD BE DANGEROUSLY AMBIGUOUS. DEPARTMENT'S REACTION SOUGHT BY OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY, MAY 30. END SUMMARY.

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2. FRENCH DEL GAVE US MAY 28 FOLLOWING QRR TEXT WHICH FRENCH AND YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTERS WORKED OUT DURING SAUVAGNARGUES' VISIT TO BELGRADE LAST WEEK: (OUR INFORMAL TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH): BEGIN TEXT.

THE PARTICIPATING STATES NOTE THAT THE PRESENT (TITLE OF DOCUMENT) CANNOT AND WILL NOT AFFECT THEIR RIGHTS, OBLIGATIONS OR RESPONSIBILITIES, SPECIFICALLY DEFINED AND RECOGNIZED, NOR THE CORRESPONDING TREATIES, AGREEMENTS AND ARRANGEMENTS. END TEXT.

WE UNDERSTAND THAT YUGOSLAV CABINET, UNDER TITO'S CHAIRMANSHIP, WAS TO CONSIDER TEXT MAY 28, AND FRENCH SAY THEY HOPE TO HAVE FORMAL YUGOSLAV REACTION SHORTLY.

3. OUR FIRST REACTION TO THIS TEXT IS DISAPPOINTMENT AND SOME CONCERN. ITS KEY ELEMENT IS QUALIFICATION OF "RESPONSIBILITIES" BY "SPECIFICALLY DEFINED AND RECOGNIZED". THIS IS SUGGESTION NEUTRALS MADE MORE THAN MONTH AGO AND WHICH WE (AS WELL AS UK AND FRG) HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID CAUSED US DIFFICULTIES. SINCE THIS FORMULATION WAS FIRST BROACHED BY NEUTRALS, SOVIET UN NOTE AND OTHER SOVIET AND GDR STATEMENTS ON STATUS OF BERLIN HAVE INCREASED CONCERN THAT QRR'S COULD WELL NOT BE CONSIDERED BY MUCH OF WORLD TO BE "SPECIFICALLY DEFINED AND RECOGNIZED." THEY EXIST, BUT THEIR DEFINITION IS, QUITE OBVIOUSLY, LACKING IN SOME PRECISION, AND TO ACCEPT THIS LANGUAGE AT THIS TIME WOULD APPEAR TO BE COURTING FUTURE DIFFICULTY. (THERE IS SOME AMBIGUITY IN FRENCH LANGUAGE VERSION AS TO WHETHER QUALIFIER ALSO APPLIES TO "RIGHTS" AND "OBLIGATIONS" AS WELL AS "RESPONSIBILITIES," BUT CLARIFICATION OF THIS POINT WOULD NOT EFFECT BASIC PROBLEM WITH THE LANGUAGE).

4. THAT FRENCH HAVE GONVE GONE SO FAR SO FAST AND ON THEIR OWN OBVIOUSLY PLACES US IN AWKWARD TACTICAL POSITION. IF DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN OUR REACTION TO THIS TEXT, HOWEVER, WE WOULD PROPOSE TO ADOPT FOLLOWING LINE WITH FRENCH AND YUGOSLAVS:

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(A) THEIR WORK HAS USEFULLY CLARIFIED THAT MAIN REMAINING PROBLEM IS HOW TO HANDLE "RESPONSIBILITIES."

(B) WHILE WE DO NOT LIKE QUALIFICATION "SPECIFICALLY DEFINED AND RECOGNIZED, "WE COULD ACCEPT SUBSTITUTION OF "UNDER OR IN CONFORMITY WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW." ALTERNATIVELY, SIMPLEST SOLUTION MIGHT BE TO DELETE "RESPONSIBILITIES, SPECIFICALLY DEFINED AND RECOGNIZED," FROM FRENCH-YUGOSLAV

TEXT AND ADD "AND" BETWEEN "RIGHTS" AND "OBLIGATIONS."

(C) THE FIRST OF THESE TWO PROPOSALS WOULD PROBABLY BE ACCEPTABLE TO SOVIETS. WHILE SECOND ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE LESS DESIRABLE FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW AND MORE DIFFICULT TO SELL TO SOVIETS, LATTER WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY REJECT-INT TEXT WHICH WAS ACCEPTABLE TO ALLIES AND TO YUGOSLAVS.

5. WE WILL SEEK EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH FRG AND WITH BRITISH. FIRST REACTION OF UK AMBASSADOR TO TEXT, HOWEVER, WAS THAT "SPECIFICALLY DEFINED AND RECOGNIZED" WAS TROUBLESOME. FOR TIME BEING WE WILL ADVISE FRENCH AND YUGOSLAVS THAT WE HAE SOUGHT INSTRUCTIONS PENDING RECEIPT OF WHICH IT WOULD PROBABLY BE ADVISABLE TO DEFER DISCUSSION OF TEXT WITH SOVIETS. HOWEVER, IF YUGOSLAVS INDICATE THEIR ACCEPTANCE, AS THEY ARE EXPECTED TO DO MAY 29, FRENCH HOPE TO PRESENT TEXT TO SOVIETS ON MAY 30, FOLLOWING FURTHER MEETING OF BONN GROUP DEL HEADS. WE WOULD THUS LIKE TO HAVE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS BY OPENING OF BUSINESS ON MAY 30. DALE

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